

2 A B R A H A M L I N C O L N ' S D E M O C R A C Y



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“JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY”

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A PRESIDENTIAL RECORD

"I think all the world would gain by setting commerce at perfect freedom."

"Our interest will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs."

—*Thomas Jefferson, in 1800.*

"The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor and to obtain the means for profuse expenditure for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow citizens, to be misled in this subject. It is a system of injustice, and if persisted in will lead to corruption and must end in ruin."

—*Andrew Jackson, in 1837.*

"It is my opinion, that, just now, the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

"We, the old Whigs, *have been entirely beaten out on the tariff question*; and we shall not be able to re-establish the policy until the absence of it shall have demonstrated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it."

—*Abraham Lincoln, in 1859.*

"The discontent of the employed is due in a large degree, to the grasping and heedless exactions of employers."

"Our cities are the abiding places of wealth and luxury; our manufactories yield fortunes never dreamed of by the fathers of the republic; our business men are madly striving in the race for riches, and the immense aggregations of capital outrun the imagination in the magnitude of their undertakings. The fortunes realized by our manufacturers are no longer solely the reward of sturdy industry and enlightened foresight but they result from the discriminating favor of the Government, and are largely built upon undue exactions from the masses of our people."

—*Grover Cleveland, in 1887.*

"Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad.

"The period of exclusiveness is past.

"The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it."

—*Wm. McKinley, in 1900.*

"The advance growth of the arrogance and greediness of tariff beneficiaries and the kindness shown to them by the friends of the tariff, demonstrate how confidently they rely upon the continuance of the people's credulity.

"A high tariff protects the Trusts from foreign competition, and by agreed association and confederacy in production and price they defend themselves against competition at home. Is it not true that to all other reasons for a reform in our tariff laws there is added the birth and growth of their cruel and unmerciful progeny of Trusts?"

—*Grover Cleveland in 1902.*

A B R A H A M L I N C O L N ' S D E M O C R A C Y

The earnest and eloquent, but deluded, gentlemen who for eight years past have been disastrously endeavoring to commit the great party of Jefferson and Jackson to free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, have made it a little difficult to define Democracy in these days.

But the light is dawning. I think we begin to get our bearings. Every sane man now knows that we must either drop free silver and have done with fiat-money fanaticism, or else frankly call ourselves populists, socialists, cranks or whatnot. And I have faith that the coming convention of the Democratic party will adopt a platform ringing so true to the teaching and example of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, that patriot citizens of the Republic, "without regard to past political differences or divisions," will have no difficulty whatever in defining true Democracy.

And just as the free-silver enthusiasts have confused the Democrats, so the Trust-promoting financiers have confused Republican voters. Thus, it may be fair-

ly assumed that a very large majority of the young men who boast themselves Republicans, and who proudly follow the lead of Mr. Hanna and Mr. Roosevelt in voting for Protection and "a full dinner pail," honestly believe they are voting for Abraham Lincoln's principles.

But as the son of a soldier who fought four years in defense of Lincoln's principles, and as an American who has studied what Lincoln wrote—rather than what is now written about him—I think a brief reference to the record will demonstrate that, in fundamental political convictions, our martyr president was in absolute agreement with Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

Lincoln's Paramount Object.

Under the influence of Lincoln's awful assassination, and owing to the consequent bitter feeling toward the slaveholding aristocracy of the old South, partisan and industrious northern writers have taught the living generation that the emancipation proclamation constitutes Lincoln's chief claim to enduring fame.

But this is neither fact nor history.

One needs but to turn to his messages to congress, his speeches, and his letters, to see clearly that to preserve the Union was the guiding principle of all Lincoln's heroic work throughout the tragic years that he occupied the White House.

In proof of this, we have his celebrated letter to Horace Greeley in which Lincoln repeated his "oft-expressed personal

wish that all men everywhere could be free," but went on to say:

"My paramount object is to save the union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.

"If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Emancipation a War Measure.

The Emancipation Proclamation was a necessary war measure—a mere incident of the vastly more important work of preserving the Union. Long delayed—in the face of unbridled abuse from the abolitionists—it was finally issued solely because the power of the southern armies forced him to it, as the only possible means of satisfying the north and saving the Union. For Lincoln believed in emancipation only through compensation to the slave-owners; and standing in awe of the constitution and of his oath of office, he did not believe that we had a right to deprive any man of his property without "due process of law." There is abundant documentary evidence, also, to prove that, to his dying hour, Lincoln believed that the slave-owners should have been compensated for their property.

But the Union was at stake—and to preserve that priceless heritage to posterity Lincoln was willing to sacrifice every other consideration. That he succeeded in the great task allotted to him constitutes a claim to glory which, in the light of the resplendent record re-

vealed in his masterful state papers, makes him one of the most commanding figures in all patriotic history. For he gave all his high powers, and his very life, to the preservation of the Union; and now that the spectacular little war with Spain has reunited the blue and the gray—opening your eyes, and the eyes of all Europe to the dominating power and influence of the great Republic in the world-family of nations—we can begin to rightly measure the ennobling thought and far-reaching purpose of those who battled so long and so bravely to keep us one nation.

The Future of Federal Union.

For I am among those, now rapidly multiplying in number, who confidently believe that the time is surely coming when mankind shall realize, in fact, the hope of that great poet who predicted “the parliament of man, the federation of the world.”

“In time of peace prepare for war,” is the motto of the ages; and it was Thomas Jefferson, the foremost advocate of peace measures in all modern times, who wrote: “The best stimulus to peace is an effective provision of men and money for war.” Acting upon this fundamental principle, all Europe to-day presents to the observant traveler an aspect of successive military encampments—uniformed soldiers and emblems of the armies and navies being present everywhere. But it is nothing less than senseless to suppose that

civilized Europe can go on forever arming for bloody battle, when the world has become a neighborhood, when open debate can settle every difference of opinion, and when a Congress of wise men, representing Federated States—each of which enjoys local self-government—can be safely relied upon for that rule of action which will yield the largest benefits to all. The Peace Conference at the Hague is the first step towards “that consummation devoutly to be wished;” and the American Constitution—in the words of Gladstone, “the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man”—is the one model for the future.

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the
battle flags were furl'd
In the parliament of man, the federation of the
world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a
fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in
universal law.

—Alfred Tennyson.

Jefferson, Jackson and the Union.

Turning back to our past, we need but glance at the record to find conclusive proof that Jefferson actually penned the sentiments and shaped the policy that guided Lincoln in his work, while Jackson taught him precisely how to defend and preserve the Union.

Back in the critical years of our second war with Great Britain, when the embargo of Madison's time so inflamed the

men of New England that they called our first secession convention, at Hartford, Conn., in 1814—then it was that the great author of the Declaration of Independence rekindled patriotism and reunited the men of the north and the south, by issuing this thrilling message to the freemen of his race:

“We shall never give up our Union—the last anchor of our hope, and that alone which is to prevent this heavenly country from becoming an arena of gladiators.

“We ought for so dear a state to sacrifice every attachment, every enmity.”

In like manner, when “the Tariff of Abominations”—for the exclusive benefit of northern manufacturers, at the direct and heavy expense of southern planters and western farmers—gave us our second secession convention at Charleston, S. C., in 1832, it was Andrew Jackson who once more aroused patriotism to defense of the Union with these stirring declarations:

“By the Eternal! the money-power shall not rule this land!

“To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the union, is to say that the United States are not a nation.

“Were we base enough to surrender our independent rights, secured to us by the bravery and blood of our forefathers, we are unworthy of the name of freemen.”

And straightway Jackson suppressed the rebellion of the Nullifiers—with the United States army, under command of General Winfield Scott, and the United States navy, under command of the young

man whom we now know as Admiral Farragut.

Lincoln at Gettysburg.

A generation later, at the climax of the great civil war, when for the third time the Union of the States was gravely menaced, this was the immortal message which Lincoln gave to the fighting free-men of his race, from the battlefield of Gettysburg :

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.

“It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.”

These brief quotations, coupled with the life-long work of the men who penned them, make it perfectly evident that in heart, in soul, and in unbending purpose, the three men held true to identically the

same opposition to disunion, identically the same view of constitutional property rights, and identically the same fundamental faith in "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

In other words, Lincoln had the genius to see—as Samuel Adams, George Mason, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson before him had clearly proved—that to preserve the Union as a means of perpetuating government by the people, was an issue beside which all other issues dwindle to the proportions of commonplace routine administration. He hewed true to that line—regardless of where the chips might fall; and in doing that he won immortal fame.

Lincoln on the Tariff Question.

Coming now to present day, practical problems, What was Lincoln's position on the tariff question in 1860? And if he were alive to-day, What would be his attitude towards the combinations and trusts?

In early manhood Lincoln was a Henry Clay Whig. Born in poverty, having his own way to make, and reared in what was then the frontier of American civilization, he saw the great need for development in the west and south, and so he gave all his youthful ardor to advocacy of the system of "internal improvements and protection to infant industries" which Henry Clay proclaimed so brilliantly in those pioneer days.

But Lincoln was a learner.

He saw Andrew Jackson's Spartan democracy defeat the re-election of John Quincy Adams by an overwhelming majority of the people's vote in the presidential contest of 1828. Again in 1832 he saw Jackson challenge, uncover and utterly rout the Whig combination of those who advocated protection, internal improvements and the bank monopoly—with Henry Clay, “the Prince Rupert of Protection,” as the candidate of that party. He was living witness to the fact that under the compromise tariff of 1832 and “the Free Trade Tariff of 1846,” our manufacturers were prospering as they had never prospered before, the far-famed American clippers were sailing the seas in the service of the greatest foreign commerce we had ever known, and Horace Greeley had made “Go West, young man,” the inspiring watchword of the whole Atlantic seaboard.

These lessons went home to Lincoln.

He realized that in the ardor of his youth he had been honestly mistaken—as his leader, Henry Clay, was undoubtedly honest in his mistakes. And so, twenty or more years later, when Lincoln loomed large as a candidate for the presidential nomination of the new Republican party, a long-time personal friend wrote asking for a public expression of his views on the tariff question. To this friend he gave a concise and definite reply, as was his custom. Under date of October 11,

1859, while his presidential contest was pending, Lincoln wrote his friend frankly, explaining that in his youth he had been an ardent Henry Clay Whig, and had not changed his personal views on the tariff question; but, with unerring discretion, and fairness to the new party, he went on to say:

“It is my opinion that, just now, the revival of that (the tariff) question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

“We, the old Whigs, have been entirely beaten out on the tariff question; and we shall not be able to re-establish the policy until the absence of it shall have demonstrated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it. With this view, I should prefer to not now write a public letter upon the subject.”

History Which Speaks To-Day.

Fortunately, we of the living generation have the testimony of New England’s foremost historian in explanation of why Lincoln wrote that letter.

In his admirable essay, entitled “Harrison, Tyler and the Whig Coalition,” the late Dr. John Fiske of Harvard University gives us this summary of the political conditions leading up to the formation of the Republican party:

“As the net result of twenty years of political experience, since the election of John Quincy Adams had raised new political issues, we find the Whig theory everywhere discomfited. The bank was too completely dead to find any mourners. The protective tariff was reduced to such a point that we were abreast with England in the march toward free trade, and our foreign commerce was beginning to

rival that of England, when the civil war and its war taxes set us back for a while. At the same time the policy of internal improvements remained, as it still remains, on the defensive. Viewed in its large relations, it was a noble victory for the sound Democratic doctrine of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

"Between 1850 and 1860 many of the best and most vigorous elements in the old Democratic party of Jackson and Van Buren had gone over to the new Republican party; just as since 1876 we have seen many of the most characteristic elements of the old Republican party of Lincoln and Sumner going over to the Democrats. Whatever may be the merits of the Republican party to-day, it is no more the party of Lincoln and Sumner than the Federalist party of 1812 was the party of Hamilton and John Adams. Just so with the Democratic party of forty years ago. By the subtraction of its original leaders, the Democratic party of Pierce and Buchanan, came to be something quite different from the Democratic party of Jackson and Van Buren. It came to be a mere servant of the slave power.

"The danger which menaces the Republican party to-day is the danger that it may fall under the control of monopolists. Should it turn out to be so, the history of American politics points to the probable result. That history shows with clearness how moderately the evolution of society goes on where the popular will finds unhampered expression. When political parties go in quest of strange gods we cast them forth into outer darkness and go on our way rejoicing. It is well that this is so, for so long as this can be done, we may be sure that we are a free people."

Early Republican Free Traders.

Everybody knows that the Republican party now stands for protection—and

“stands pat!” But in my boyhood it was a common thing to meet Republicans who avowed themselves out-and-out free traders; and even yet, President Garfield’s celebrated speech in congress is still quoted to prove that he believed only in that kind of tariff protection which leads straight on to free trade.

John Sherman, wheel-horse of the Republican party, in a notable speech delivered in 1868, made this significant declaration :

“Every advance towards a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization; every obstruction to a free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and population, and promotes civilization.”

It is a further fact, now apparently entirely forgotten, that Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, founder of our national banking system, and easily the most commanding figure in Lincoln’s cabinet, not only avowed himself a Jeffersonian Democrat, but actually sought the Democratic nomination for president in 1872.

The truth is that before the war the Republican party was strongly anti-protection. The early Republican leaders not only repudiated slavery extension, Democratic secession and Whig protection, but they were so intent upon standing for the principles of the fathers, that they adopt-

ed the very name—REPUBLICAN— by which the party of the people had been designated when Jefferson led in opposition to the aristocratic and monarchial tendencies of the old Federal party.

Birth of the Republican Party.

For full twenty years before the war the slavery issue overshadowed every other question. In the presidential contests of 1844, 1848 and 1852, the anti-slavery factions presented a variety of parties and candidates, as the *Tribune* almanac will show. It was in 1856 that all these contending factions, opposed to the slave power of the South, coalesced in a national convention at Philadelphia, adopted the name “Republican,” nominated Gen. John C. Fremont for president, and there proclaimed a platform *in which there was not one word in advocacy of protection!* The document is given in full in the *Tribune* almanac, and it will richly repay careful reading now, for it is one of the most patriotic and inspiring proclamations that ever marshaled freemen to the defense of constitutional liberties. Space forbids me to give more than the opening paragraph here:

“The convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free ter-

ritory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State; of *restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson*, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows."

Then followed nine of the most stirring resolutions ever presented for the suffrage of the American people; and among them, as I have said before, there was not a line to even suggest protection. Upon that platform the new party of freedom went before the people, and this was the result:

Candidates for State.	Party.	Pop.	Elec.
President.		Vote.	Vote.
J. C. Fremont..	Cal.	Rep. 1,341,264	114
Jas. Buchanan..	Pa.	Dem. 1,838,169	174
Mil'd Fillmore..	N. Y.	Am. 874,538	8

That was enough to show the politicians what was coming. That was enough to show that the slave power had doomed the old Democratic party. And the vote for Fillmore (anti-Catholic) was enough to prove that religious bigotry and narrow national prejudice would never be tolerated by the American people. Everybody could see that a vast majority of those who had voted for Fillmore would certainly join the new party at the next election; that the northern and southern wings of the old Democratic party were certain to part company; and thus the result plainly foretold that the great party of freedom, reasserting the principles of

the fathers, was inevitably destined to rule the republic.

The Beginnings of Protection.

Then it was that the protection schemers, contrary to Lincoln's specific and prudent advice, adroitly fastened themselves upon the new party. At the party convention of 1860, far down in the twelfth clause of the platform adopted, they secured the insertion of a shrewdly worded, covert and plausible declaration in favor of "such an adjustment of these imposts (tariff duties) as to encourage the industrial development of the whole country."

The definite purpose of that adroit committal was none other than to enrich northern manufacturers at the direct expense of southern planters and western farmers. And upon that foundation have since been reared the formidable "community-of-interest" combinations and trusts which have enabled Mr. Carnegie to capitalize his protection profits into three hundred millions of first mortgage gold bonds; which have enabled Mr. Morgan to pose as a modern wonder-worker in Wall street finance, and which now make Mr. Rockefeller—and all his host of richly paid retainers—yearn, but not dare, to nominate for president Marcus A. Hanna, the prophet of prosperity, who "holds the age and stands pat" on his gospel of "a full dinner pail"—for the consumption of "the plain people."

"You can fool all of the people some of the time, and you can fool some of the people all

the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

The Perils of Unjust Taxation.

The history of the world gives proof in plenty of the horrors that wait upon unjust taxation of the people for the benefit of special classes; and it is high time that we now recall American history in this regard:

It was the stamp act and the tax upon tea that inflamed our patriot fathers to the point of fighting and winning the revolution.

During Washington's administration it was Alexander Hamilton's financial measures, especially his proposal of protection for manufacturers, that divided parties, forced Jefferson's retirement from the cabinet, gave us the infamous alien and sedition laws, and so embittered feeling that the Hamilton party all but forced us into a war against France, with the hidden hope of forming a British alliance.

In Madison's day it was the embargo—a temporary prohibition of foreign trade—that inflamed New England to the point of holding the first secession convention, at Hartford, in 1814.

In Jackson's time it was "the tariff of abominations" that gave us the nullification rebellion in 1832—a rebellion which would surely have scourged us with civil war had not Andrew Jackson's genius and bravery suppressed it with the army and navy of the United States.

And, finally, too few patriotic Americans now remember the awful fact that the Morrill bill—for the exclusive benefit of the northern manufacturers at the burdensome expense of southern planters—passed the senate February 20, 1861, was approved by President Buchanan March 2, to take effect April 1, and Sumter was fired on April 14!

The Morrill bill, in fact, was the very torch that lighted the flames of rebellion—against unjust taxation—as South Carolina rebelled before, in 1832. And Lincoln's signature was never given to the Morrill bill, or any other protection measure, during the whole period that he occupied the White House.

The Party of the People.

In name, in principle, in purpose, and notably in the person of its immortal leader, the Republican party was essentially the party of “the plain people”—as opposed to an aristocracy of wealth and legislative privilege. Lincoln was, in very truth, “a man of the people”—a nobleman sprung from obscurity and poverty, but bred of the stock that builded and has preserved our free institutions. He personified the genius of democracy at its best; and the written record of his work is resplendent with proof that he lived and died a patriot—pure of heart, noble of purpose and invincible unto death in his loyalty to the Union, to the constitution, and to his heroic and high resolve

"that government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

To now use his great name as a cloak for the iniquities and enormities of Republican misrule which we suffer—taxing the many to fabulously enrich the few—is a high crime against history which every freeman of his race should indignantly and rightfully resent.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

WHICH MEANS THE DEMOCRACY OF

THOMAS JEFFERSON
ANDREW JACKSON
AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN

“THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS
LEAST”

BY JOHN R. DUNLAP.

PRESS NOTICES

“The first gun of the (coming Presidential) campaign * * * * ‘Jeffersonian Democracy’ is the name of this textbook, and it is well worth reading by any politician of any party.”

—*The Daily Journal, Salem, Oregon.*

“The book should be read by every patriotic American, regardless of political belief, as it treats of matters vital to the existence of the Republic, from the soul of one who is in dead earnest.”

—*The Daily Journal, Willows, California.*

“The ambition of the author is to put the Democratic party back on what he terms the broad highway of Jeffersonian principles and precedents—which seems an admission that the party can make no headway by tagging after every fellow who has an ism to exploit.”

—*The Post, Phillipsburg, N. J.*

“The book is not written in any pessimistic spirit, the author believing that the problems which confront the modern State, and which bulk so large in the immediate vision of the present, can be solved by the application of the principles of Jefferson to the questions of government.”

—*The Brooklyn Daily Eagle (New York).*

“Each of the 479 pages is interesting and at the same time instructive. While the title suggests that it is a book devoted to party discussion alone, the reader, regardless of his party affiliations, will find it full of interest and crowded with the great truths so essential to the preservation of the American principles of self-government.”

—*The Citizen, Columbus O.*

“Every citizen who desires to be informed concerning the vital questions of the day should read this book from cover to cover, and then start at the first and read it over again. It is brimful of historical and economic truths and breathes the spirit of him who thundered seventy-two years ago: ‘By the eternal! the Money Power shall not rule this land.’”

—*The Press, Danville, Ill.*

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